

國際形勢裏的兩個問題

where there is liberty of speech. I think I should not pay so much attention to private opinions of a few individuals as to concrete plans and formal documents. Let me refer to the draft protocol designed to keep Germany disarmed for forty years by the four powers. It was promoted by the United States and enthusiastically seconded by Russia and France. And in February, 1946, the United States Government formally brought it to the attention of Russia, Britain and France. Again, in April, 1947, Mr. Marshall brought it up at the Moscow Conference. Once and again, Russia defeated it. The main object of this protocol was to maintain military strength for collective security and to keep Germany from reviving its forces for aggression for some considerable time. At the time when this was discussed, the United States expressed itself that a similar protocol for forty years should apply to Japan. This was an unprecedented departure presented from United States foreign policy. Before it was presented by Mr. Byrnes, it had been carefully studied and discussed by leaders of both parties, in the United States Senate so that it would be ratified when adopted by the Senate later. If we wish to pass judgment on the fundamental policy of the Western Democracies in regard to the peace treaty with Germany and Japan, documents such as this would be more worth our studying perhaps.

我觀察西方民主國家的負責言論與行動，可以作三個判斷：（一）西方民主國家雖有放縱，但防制侵略侵略勢力復活」的根本政策，在這一點上，不但沒放縱，而且還有最嚴厲的「復活」國家的創制主張也絕對一致的。（二）因為侵略侵略勢力復活，所以西方國家決不要求持擁護兩國來運到兩國，但兩國想，那有不欲兩國而可以利用他們來抵制侵略的這理？我可利用他們，（三）武裝侵略是美英與澳洲加拿大諸國的人民絕對不許寬許的。（四）武裝侵略是侵略的復興，應該加強作武力防制國家的武裝與侵略勢力的復活，這並非沒有不許他民族在開闢和平生活的意思。這國民族有十萬萬人不許他民族也有七十萬萬人。誰也不許他侵略一萬萬六千萬人。可是他們不長開關開關來侵略他們。所以西方民主國家不能不考慮他們也不能長期一部分的工業生產力，使他們可以產生產來侵略他們自己。這是過分的寬大。為根本解決將來的循環報復，為了根本解決比較久遠的和平，這種政策是不能斷絕的。

My observation of responsible public opinion and actions of the Western Democracies, I have made three inferences: (1) The Western Democracies have not given up the fundamental policy of keeping Germany and Japan from reviving their forces for aggression. This is a point not only specially stressed at the Potsdam Conference but also unanimously advocated by both the governments and the peoples in the Western Democracies. (2) That the Western Democracies would not permit Germany or Japan to rearm makes it impossible for them to sustain Germany and Japan so as to utilize them to resist Soviet Russia. How can you say that they could utilize Germany and Japan to resist Russia without permitting them to rearm? I am ready to assert definitely that the peoples of Britain, the United States, France, Australia, and Canada, positively and absolutely, would not permit the rearmament of Germany and Japan. (3) What is meant by keeping Germany and Japan from restoring themselves to their former position should specifically bear on the point that these two countries should be absolutely kept

from reviving their forces for aggression but does not imply that the German and the Japanese peoples are not permitted to live peaceful lives in the world. Germany has a population of over 70,000,000,—people. Japan, also, has a population of over 70,000,000,—people. No body can destroy and annihilate these 140,000,000,—or 150,000,000,—peoples. No people can feed these people at their own expenses. That is why the Western Democracies have to take it into consideration how to leave these peoples a part of their industrial productivity so that they can keep themselves alive by producing things. This is not over-liberal. Fundamentally to root out endless mutual revenge, fundamentally to maintain comparatively permanent peace, as a policy, this is imperative.

這三個觀察，老兄認為有點根據嗎？如果我的看法不算大錯，那麼我們似乎應該有充分理由可以讚賞西方民主國家對德日和平的政策並慶賀。我們不應有承認這些國家在他們管轄的地域之內沒有武裝德國人或日本人的嫌疑。

Do you not think that in my points of observation are well grounded? If I have not made serious mistakes here, it seems that we have no valid reasons to blame the Western Democracies for changes in policy in the peace treaty with Germany and with Japan. We should at least admit that in territories under their control, the Democracies are free from any suspicion that they have rearmmed the Germans or the Japanese.

第二，老毛在本文裏說：「我們相信在各國列強中間究竟沒有真正瞭解而德意志日本那樣的惡劣的侵略政策。」老毛這話一定沒有多少人的懷疑，因為在不少人的心目中，戰後的德國可能是一個很「惡劣的侵略政策」，還有些人覺得這個侵略政策可能比德國日本還更可怕。因為他的本錢比日本還更雄厚，他的野心比日本還更大；他的勢力比日本還更普遍。還有德意志的「A」，世界各國都有；在中國特別多。因為翻翻近年中國的行爲實在不能不叫人害怕而憂慮。老毛有什麼法子叫他們不害怕不憂慮呢？

Secondly, you may in your paper: "We believe that among the world allied powers there is none that is as warlike and as aggressive as Germany or Japan before the war." This assertion of yours may well be questioned by not a few people. For there are enough people who think Soviet Russia can be a formidable aggressive power; there are others who

think that this aggressive power can be more formidable still than Germany and Japan because her resources are greater than those of Germany and Japan, her ambition is greater than that of Germany and Japan; her power is more far-reaching than that of Germany and Japan at their zenith. People who feel this apprehension are everywhere in the world. And in China there are more such people than elsewhere, for what Soviet Russia has done to China in recent years can not but cause fear and anxiety to the Chinese. How can you make them free from fear, free from apprehension?

(To Be Continued 未完)

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專 論 SPECIAL ARTICLE

國際形勢裏的兩個問題
TWO INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS

(A letter to Mr. Chou Keng Sheang)

Translated from the Chinese by Alfred C. M. Chang

生吾兄：
Dear Keng Sheng:

前幾天我讀了老兄「歷史要重演嗎？」那篇文章，我頗驚訝，我兩個老朋友對國際局勢的觀察竟相隔如此之遠！所以我今天寫出不同的意見來，請老兄指教。

A few days ago I read your paper entitled "will history repeat itself?" I was much surprised that such old friends we are should differ so much in our viewpoint concerning the international situation. I therefore write down two points for your consideration.

第一，老兄此文的主要論點是讚賞「西方民主國家」對德國日本和的政策和根本改變。老兄所謂根本改變，就是指西方國家對德國日本「極度人士」看這對德日和的問題的根本，「已不在如何防制德國日本復仇，而在如何扶持和利用戰時這兩個強敵以抵禦其他一個危險的敵人。」

First, you seem to blame the Western Democracies for their fundamental changes in the peace treaty with Germany and to have a favourable opinion there are people in the Democracies who hold such a fundamental policy towards Germany and Japan should no longer be allowed to prevent these former formidable enemies from restoring their lost position but how to sustain them so as to utilize them to resist a victorious ally in the war.

老兄也承認這種傾向。現在尚沒有表現於具體的方案或公報的文章，只不過是所謂自由社會的理論概念大義見而已。我覺得老兄不應該太有這種國家理論，而忽視那些經正式公報的方案與文。我試舉兩個例子而英法美三國實成的四年協約草案，便是。一九四二年正式提出，正式變成英法美三國，一九四七年四月馬歇爾先生在莫斯科正式提出，都被蘇聯拒絕了。這個協約的主要目標正是一種種族種族倫理的，而期消滅德國的侵略勢力佔優勢。當美國國會表示。同樣的四年協約草案，也適用於日本。這是美國外交上破綻空的政策，在貝魯斯基發生以前，適用於日本。這是美國的外交部細心研究討論過，將來當然可以提出參議院的批准。如果我們對西方民主主義國家對德日和約的根本政策，這一類的文件作更價值的研究呢？

You admit that this tendency has not yet found expression in concrete plans or formal documents, that it is merely opinion of a few private individuals in a community

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entists, now collaborating with American physicians on atomic research in American universities. Best known of these are Dr. Jee Chih-kung, professor of radiology at the National Tsinghua University,

Dr. Tseng Chao-lun, brother of chemistry at the National Peking University, both of whom are assistants in Dr. Lawrence's laboratory at the University of California; and Wu Chien-hsiung, attached to Columbia University's atomic research university.

中包括數位現正於美國各大學美國物理學家共同研究原子之科學家，最著名者有國立清華大學核學教授汪其昌（譯音）博士及國立北平大學化學教授曾昭燏氏。北京大學校長張作霖

師範、博士，該兩教授曾在加
尼亞大學之勞倫士實驗室內，
助教，此外尚有吳濟洲女士，
屬於哥倫比亞大學之原子
部門。

彼等研究所得之論文曾在國內及
美國發表，但當戰事爆發時，大部
分之儀器遺失，而研究工作遂停頓
數年之久。

According to Dr. Li, these scientists abroad would willingly return to China. They were assured of work, facilities and a decent liv-

Individual atomic research, however, was continued by a handful of scientists, including Dr. Feng Chen, dean of the College of Science of the National Chungking University,

李博士稱，此等在國外之我國
家如獲得研究工作設施齊備及
生活之保證，皆願返回祖國。

These geologists claim that uranium deposits in at least three provinces of China — Manchuria, Kwangsi and Szechuan.

中國地理學家聲稱國內至少有三個地區，即東北、廣西、與雲南，有大量的鈾礦。

Nanking Feb. 14 (Reuter)—The United States Embassy here announced last night that of the \$18,000,000 funds appropriated by Congress for relief assistance to China, \$15,000,000 will be utilized for the procurement of wheat and rice, \$1,000,000 for medical supplies and \$500,000 for pesticides and seed for food.

路運往南京之二十四日。此項
美大麥、印地安高粱、美國香櫨、棉籽、燕
麥、以一千八百萬美元經售，將
以一千五百萬美元購買米麥，一萬
萬美元購買糧食藥品，並以五十萬
美元購買醫療設備及種籽。

These funds will be included
with the previous allocation of
\$27,000,000, which is being ad-
ministered under the auspices
of the China Relief Mission of
the Embassy and in accordance
with the articles of the agree-
ment signed between the United
States and China last Oc-
tober.

此等經費將列入以前之兩千七百萬美元撥款項內，按該款項係依照去年十月中美協定之條款規定由大使館對華救濟委會之監督下加以保管。

It will be recalled that the original grant of \$27,000,000 was used largely for the purchase of foodstuffs, a considerable portion of which has already arrived in China or is now on the ocean en route here. Because of the progress that has been made in the Chinese Government's efforts to promote better utilization of the imported food supplies by the introduction of distribution controls in coastal urban centers, the United States State Department has authorized the expenditure of most of the new appropriation for further procurement of wheat and rice. More than \$15,000,000 of the new funds will be utilized for this purpose and are expected to give China an additional 19,000 tons of wheat and 48,000 tons of rice, including all shipping charges.

猶憶及原先獲准之兩千七百萬美元，其大部份係用以購買食糧，其中已有若干部份運抵中國，或正在途中，因中國政府採行沿海各都市食糧分配統制，努力對進口之食糧，加以妥善之運用，已顯然確有進步，美國務院已允許撥款之大部份得以購買米麥，新撥付之經費中，將有一千五百餘萬美元，作為此項用途，並可能另外給予中國一萬九千噸之小麥及四萬八千噸之米，其中並包括給養之費用。

The Chinese Government is expected to announce shortly its programme of utilising these stocks and other basic food supplies in the hands of the National Government to introduce a rationing programme, which will provide major coastal population centres with adequate minimum supplies of food during the critical months of the late winter and spring.

中國政府不久即將宣佈運用國民政府所儲有及其他基本食糧之方案，而採行一配給之方案，在冬末春初青黃不接之時期內，對沿海人口稠密之大都市內，供給以適當之食糧最低需用量。

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